

PEACE NEWS

No. 429 September 1, 1944 2d.

MAURICE L. ROWNTREE

An appreciation by
Dr. ALEX WOOD

Chairman of the P.P.U. and of
the Directors of Peace News

(Further tributes to Maurice L. Rowntree, Hon. Treasurer and a Sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union, whose death we reported last week, appear on our back page.)

IN thinking of Maurice Rowntree in his relation to the PPU two personal qualities stand out among many others—his self-sacrificing loyalty to the causes in which he believed and his scrupulous regard for truth in the deepest sense.

The first of these qualities he showed as our Treasurer. He was no financier, and he never saw himself as one. But his own integrity and the respect in which he was universally held were the assets which he carried, and he placed them at our disposal and served with the utmost faithfulness from 1938 to 1942.

There were other ways in which he would rather have served the Union and in which he could and did make a very great contribution, but as long as we needed him as Treasurer he carried on. In 1942 an effort was made to relieve him and free him for other work, but in 1943, in very difficult circumstances, he offered himself again for the job, and a profoundly grateful Union accepted his offer.

But it was in policy-making and in policy discussions that Maurice was happiest, and his contribution to the Forethought Committee and to the Watching Group was a distinctive one. He hated to be divisive, but he could not let any phrase pass without making quite sure what it meant and quite sure that it carried his conviction. Indeed if a minority view which he did not share was being sidetracked or misunderstood he would insist on fair play for it and even state the case for it himself.

On National Council and on the Executive Committee we shall all miss his genial presence and his wise counsel.

DEATH OF DOROTHY EVANS

READERS of Peace News will grieve to learn of the death on Monday of Dorothy Evans, another well-known pacifist and a vigorous advocate of women's equality.

Although she was unwell she travelled to Glasgow at the end of last week, and at the week-end had to enter hospital under observation for suspected duodenal ulcer. It was afterwards discovered that she was suffering from cancer, and she underwent an operation but did not recover.

Dorothy Evans was a member of the PPU Negotiated Peace Committee, and formerly a member of its National Council and Women's Peace Campaign. A former suffragette and a tireless propagandist, she became widely known through her very effective work as organizer of the Women's Publicity Planning Association.

CAUSES OF NAZISM AND WAR

A "Vansittart" peace will leave them untouched

WERE Nazism a less desperate creed than it is, the striking military victories in France, the recapture of Paris, and the suing for peace of Rumania and Bulgaria would indicate an end to the European war by Christmas, if not long before. Certainly the time is come when peace must be uppermost in men's minds.

Unfortunately, the curse of the slogan of "unconditional surrender" is now upon us. By its means coherent public discussion of the terms of peace has been virtually silenced for the whole of a crucial year.

Though the nature of the peace-settlement is a matter on which the possibility of a tolerable life for the ordinary Briton depends, the Parliament of Britain appears to be as little informed about it as I am. The Economist (quoted here last week) is convinced that it will be as bad as the worst that we have feared. I see no reason to doubt it.

Dreams and reality

ALL rational investigation into the causes of this war has been so long suspended that even intelligent people appear to have succumbed to a kind of mental paralysis. They have become obsessed by the iniquities of Nazism, and have unconsciously adopted the childish irrationality of Vansittartism: which is the assumption that Germans are generically different from ordinary human beings.

The nationalism of Germany, consequently, is quite unlike the nationalism of Britain, France, America and Russia. These latter nationalisms are, in the words of "1066 and all that," "a good thing." The German variety is a bad thing, so unutterably and uniquely bad that, if only it can be extirpated, everything will be for the best in the best of all possible worlds.

A few misgivings rumble in the distance. There is that export trade which has to be recovered, and then doubled. There is the possibility of another, greater slump, towards countering which the inventions of Bretton Woods would be about as effective as Mrs. Partington's broom. There is, underlying both these uncertainties, the prodigious increase in the world's productive capacity created by the war, combined with the postponement by the war of any attempt to find any other way of consuming the product save by war.

Scapegoats cure nothing

THAT economic insanity is common to all the nations, Russia excepted. Nazism is merely the logical completion of the foundation in a moral and political superstructure. If you hang a millstone about the neck of each several one of the 60 million Germans and drop them in mid-Atlantic, so long as that monstrous paradox remains, Nazism will break out somewhere else.

Rather than attempt to solve the real problem, we prefer to isolate Germany as the cause of all evil. "It must needs be that offences come, but woe to him by whom it cometh." War is necessary to keep production going.

BIG TASK AHEAD

AS peace draws nearer, the prospect that it will be a bad one grows more certain. Those who doubted whether the PPU will have much to do after the war must now be convinced that the real work will only be beginning. We must be in a position to profit by experience—not merely our own but that of the thousands who will be drawn towards pacifism by their war-experiences.

There is little doubt that for a period power-politics will be nakedly in the ascendant as never before, and its disastrous consequences visible. We must be prepared.

Contributions since Aug. 18: £6 9s. 6d. Total to date: £5,435 7s. 11d.

THE EDITOR

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

Observer's Commentary

By making Germany solely responsible for the universal necessity, we are enabled to sow the seeds of the next necessary war and put ourselves in the best position for making Germany the culprit again.

Clash with Russia?

BUT there is (I think) a grave miscalculation here. Our statesmen forget that Russia is outside the realm in which war is an economic necessity. She can drive straight on to her goal of becoming the most productive and powerful nation in the world, while America may be struggling with the most dreadful slump in her history and we straining after the impossible aim of a doubled export trade.

The probability is that the need of the next war will be upon the capitalist Powers long before Germany will be in a position in which she can plausibly be made the scapegoat. It is much more likely that Russia will be "the cause" of the next war.

Russia is aware of it, if we are not. Stalin really is not "one of us." He thinks in an entirely different category from that in which the mind of Churchill or Roosevelt moves. He is a Marxist of the strictest sect; he believes that the clash between the capitalist great Powers and the one socialist great Power is economically inevitable. Hence his overwhelming concern with Russia's future strategic

position in Europe, and the terms in which that concern is expressed.

Realistic policy

THE Russian system is profoundly antipathetic to me. I am an impatient liberal, to whom one kind of totalitarianism is nearly as bad as another. But the totalitarianism of Russia is much more rational than that of Germany.

It is extraordinary how, in the hectic friendship of an ad hoc military alliance, everybody conspires to forget that Russia's principles of policy are utterly different from our own. She speaks a different language; has entirely different notions of right and wrong. And, above all, the basic philosophy of Russia is congruous with the economic pattern of the modern world.

The objectives which Russia pursues are attainable. The objectives of the wishful-thinking liberalism, which is the creed to which Anglo-Saxon politicians still pay lip-service, are not.

"Sovereign independence"

THIS current liberalism finds clear expression in the phrase—probably inserted by Mr. Roosevelt into the Teheran declarations—"the sovereign independence of all peace-loving nations." Russia also subscribed to it. Russia will subscribe to anything to humour Anglo-Saxon idealism, which every Marx-Leninist is convinced is moral humbug. Stalin knows that "the sovereign independence of all peace-loving nations" is a contradiction in terms.

For the mark of a peace-loving nation is that it is ready to surrender an essential part of its sovereign independence. That surrender is involved in submission to any kind of supernatural law, without which there can be no real international society. If that is impossible then peace is merely an interlude in war, because any such peace is based on a temporary balance of power.

Triple alliance?

IT is now proposed that USA, Russia and Britain shall be the guardians of world-peace. Why should their unity be more dependable than the old great-Power alliances? Wishful-thinking liberalism may persuade itself that peace is so precious to each

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

"Don't cheer, boys, the poor devils are dying"

A WAR CORRESPONDENT'S VIEW OF VICTORIES

Karl von Wiegand, a war correspondent for the Hearst Press (USA) is unable to be jubilant over the prospect of "victory." He quotes an American commander in another war, who, at the moment of a great military success, said to his men: "Don't cheer, boys, the poor devils are dying." Wiegand continues, according to Pacifica Views, of California (Jul. 28):

ONCE you have seen men die in battle, and I have in many wars and in many lands, you find it difficult to cheer even in victory. You know that even victory claims its price.

In my ears there still sound the moans for "mama mia" of dying Italians on the Italian front; the "mere chérie" (mother darling) of the French on the red poppy-carpeted battlefields of France, and the last whispered "liebe Mutter" of Germans. . . .

"Why must this be?"

There still haunts me a dying Russian I found among the dead in a Russian forest. Deep snow had covered him and the wolves had not smelted him out.

Simple peasant, illiterate, staccato-like he fired "why, why, why?" at me as a colleague and I dragged him along. . . .

"Can't your excellency explain and tell me why this must be?" he pleaded.

What has ever impressed me and made me think, whether it was in battles in Russia, Poland, Rumania,

Italy, Belgium, France, in the Riffian war in Morocco, the wars in Syria, Manchuria, China, Abyssinia and elsewhere, was, with rare exceptions, the kinship of all men at the open gates of the beyond.

In time of war the individual abdicates his own will and surrenders it to the will of the nation's leaders in unity of purpose and action. It may be voluntary or it may be compulsory. . . .

Do they know

Our leaders tell us we are engaged in a great crusade for liberty and freedom. In this great strain and stress where every spiritual and moral factor is put to the severest test, we cannot but wonder sometimes whether those leaders themselves know where they are taking us.

With that simple Russian moujik, many are asking WHY?

The correspondent finds his own answer to this question in this universal principle:

The law of cause and effect—the law of karma—is one of the basic laws under which all mankind lives. From it there is neither appeal nor escape. It is not fate nor predestination. It is energized and actuated by individual and collective thought, word and deeds of mankind, good or evil, as the power of his will and his desire chooses. The effect will be according to the causation.

Karl von Wiegand finds that all participants in and sufferers from the war are responsible for its evils, and he singles out no people for special condemnation.

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

Stamford Hill 2262

All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

Democratization

THERE are a certain number of pitfalls into which the pacifist, speeding down the dizzy path of Progress, is always apt to plunge headforemost. One of these is what is called "democratization"; that is, a belief in majority decisions. In every the smallest progressive undertaking, be it a campaign or a community, a blueprint for the New Order or a black mark for the Old, the voice of the majority-man is heard.

Sometimes he calls himself an "uncompromising democrat": oddly enough! You might as well speak of an inflexible opportunist. For democracy itself, as we know it, is a compromise. It is a compromise between Christianity and power-politics. The nature of democracy is this: that whilst the will of the electoral majority is accepted as law and obeyed even by those who disagree, the dissident minority is nevertheless allowed the same facilities for putting forward its views, and thereby converting itself into a majority. The system springs partly from the belief that society should be governed by religion, and that there is no authority in religion but the conscience of the individual believer; partly from a shrewd idea that the obedience of those who disagree will only be conceded to force—and therefore it is the conscience of the majority that is obeyed.

It is precisely the idea of majority rule that is accidental to democracy as a Christian system of government. Indeed, from a Christian point of view, it might be more reasonable, after counting the votes, to assign law-making to the smallest minority. After all, it is at least as often minorities as majorities that are right.

★

Odd that progressivists, who are so fond of remarking this truth, are so averse to applying it within their movements! Most odd of all in the case of pacifists, since the law which allows COs to go unpunished is itself an obscure acknowledgment by the body politic that the individual conscience is the final authority for what is right, and the majority-system an expedient.

Pacifists must seize on the essential of Christian democracy and leave go of the accidental. They must pay less attention to majority rule and more to toleration.

Granted that every believer has the opportunity to express his beliefs where they may be heard by others and influence the shaping of policy, there is no more virtue in persuading ten men to share them than in persuading one. There may be more virtue in influencing one wise man than in converting a hundred unwise. Within a Christian society, to the extent that it has abandoned the mentality of power, the decision as to whether we obey the one or the many is indifferent, a mere matter of custom or expediency.

It is more incumbent upon pacifists than any others to acknowledge this truth, since their own freedom depends on it. But in so far as they do acknowledge it, their movements will become less and less like the political parties and religious sects of the bourgeois epoch. They will either abandon the principle of authority altogether, or approximate to those Churches in which the majority as such is insignificant. The choice is between anarchism and communalism.

F.A.L.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

Postal subscription rates: Home: quarterly, 3s. 3d.; yearly, 12s. 6d. Abroad: quarterly, 2s. 9d.; yearly, 10s. 6d.

Displayed advertisements: Maximum size, 8 column inches. Copy by first post Friday.

THE WAY OUT OF WARS

by PERCY REDFERN

AT the time when Nelson burst out with, "I hate, hate, hate the French," no one would have asked why. It was second nature to think of France as the rival, the aggressor, the enemy. And war was an accepted fact. So with one brief pause, unquestioned hostility had its way for twenty years, until in all the countries affected war had devoured five million lives.

In the first years, hurt by prayers for victory, and driven to sit in church "like an uninvited guest whom no one owned," Wordsworth saw Britain shamefully opposing a revolutionary liberation of Europe from crowned despots, from feudalism, from poverty. War, he reflected, strengthened those whom it attacked. "Glad of this new enemy, . . . tyrants, strong before, were strong as demons now." But when demonic strength culminated in an Emperor Napoleon, Wordsworth, as we know, went over, no longer prophet enough to see for what later carnage England was "saving" Europe.

Hope in disguise

Now, in this twentieth century, we need no insight to be taught by the fifteen millions of dead who have followed the five millions, and by the further millions, that even Napoleonism concealed what was relatively a beneficent hope. Cut off from the world overseas, to build up an economy powerful enough to outweigh the British blockade and British subsidies to its enemies, "Bony" ever widened his conquests. That domination was overthrown. But with it went the hope.

Misfeatured, half-ruined by war, a possibility had lived. It was the possibility of a European order, retained by the new democratic and national forces for its material benefit, even while they transformed it from within to a union by consent. But the masked

promise was shattered. What remained was the growth of nations in semi-anarchy, a discord of frontiers worsening to this day.

If, for a hundred years, complete victory did not produce another war as general, one main cause lay in the negotiated peace. Talleyrand sat for his country amidst its conquerors at Vienna, and there could be no telegram from a righteous House of Commons demanding his expulsion. Hate submitted to a judicious fear of renewing French warlike ardour. Moreover, the Quakers and Methodists who were converting a slave-trading nation to anti-slavery, were not without other influence. "A long period of quiet for Europe," says Trevelyan, was secured "by justice and even leniency for the conquered."

This is not ancient history. This is a parable for today. We have only to read "Nazi" for "Jacobin," "Hitler" for "Napoleon," "submarine" for "privateer," "Home Guard" for "militia," "German callous brutality" for "French callous levity," and so continue through the story. The one non-mechanical difference was that the peace begun in Vienna did not ascribe war guilt, nor create provocative frontiers, nor convey colonies (except to Britain from the Dutch) nor overwhelm with burdens a peace-seeking government. But it was a conservative peace, leaving it all but certain that the next military power to arrive would enforce a European order as favourable to itself as sea-power had been, and was, to Britain.

The way out

What is the way out? For the continent from which we can now be ceaselessly bombarded, clearly it is not in dethroning one armed Power to invite another—Germany instead of France, and now Russia instead of Germany. Even less blindly directed, the spirit of violence still will breed its like, whether of war or revolution. Immediately, therefore, we want to substitute a will for negotiation, and so put off the next war, and meanwhile save Britain from being Ger-

many's gaoler. But we also know how much further on the final way out is.

Here, though we aim only at submerging frontiers and old hates in some European federal union, of plain, common benefit, the first step must be that of elementary understanding. What do our masses know of Germany or of Europe? Crude or more subtle, the war news and views in the Press are obviously partisan. Even our cool historians write as Britain sees. We do not get outside our own shores.

Yet, not as flattering ourselves by our own decency, but desperately, for the necessity of living in peace, we must grasp the opposing case, and so help others to see and heed ours. If we do not pity a great people frustrated through centuries to endure at last the sufferings of a double overthrow, at least the British people has it in them to respect the courage that dies for its faith. Accept your opponent's integrity, in his basic desire to be what we ourselves would be, and you do something to confirm the hope of a way out from wars.

RECENT PAMPHLETS

To draw attention to the Home Office policy of keeping prisoners locked up in their cells while air raids are in progress, the Prison Medical Reform Council (5 Lower Camden, Chislehurst, Kent) has re-issued in the form of a separate 2d. pamphlet the essay by Reg Jenkins on the bombing of a prison which originally appeared in the PMRC 1s. publication, "Prisoner's Circle."

Entitled "Bombs on the Prison," it has a strikingly illustrated cover in red, white and black. A postscript has been added, to relate the essay to present flying-bomb attacks.

* * *

The Meaning of Total War. Fredrick Loehr. 6d.

Completely total war is not yet with us, admits Mr. Loehr. But it is in process of development, and with it the fully totalitarian society, the supreme enemy of "the underlying motive of Christian civilization . . . a regard for the idea of personality." The only hope the author sees is "a political or social faith which, despising the materialistic values of modern society, runs boldly against the present economic and political trends." Although for Mr. Loehr this means anarchism, a label which some will not be prepared to accept, probably no pacifist will quarrel with his assertion that "the good life, in the good society, must be a free association of persons. Persons working vocationally, not for maximum wealth production, but for the realization of 'peace and good will on earth.'"

* * *

A description of the work and purpose of the Wheathill Bruderhof Community of the Society of Brothers is given in a new 4-page leaflet, entitled "The Wheathill Bruderhof—a Christian Community."

It brings up-to-date the short summary of the history of the Society given in earlier pamphlets, by including the emigration of some members to Paraguay, the founding of the Wheathill Bruderhof, and further expansion in Shropshire.

Copies of the leaflet are obtainable from Lower Bromdon Farm, Burwarton, Bridgnorth, Shropshire.

Words of Peace—88

No State that ever was is worthy of a free man's worship. The Christian State proclaims human personality to be supreme; the servile State denies this. Every compromise with the infinite value of the human soul leads straight back to savagery and the jungle.

—Earl Baldwin.

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LETTERS

National self-righteousness

I have been much interested in Dr. Temple's pronouncement regarding the post-war punishment of Germany which appeared in Peace News, Aug. 4. Welcome as this pronouncement may be, it is vitiated by the underlying national self-righteousness which it reveals.

I recall the widespread indignation throughout this country in 1919 when the terms of the Versailles Treaty were made known. A well-known Canon of the Church, writing to the Press at that time, concluded his letter as follows, "Speaking as a plain man, with no special knowledge of politics, but some idea of the meaning of the words 'national honour' and 'pledged word,' it seems to me that the terms of peace are a gross outrage on justice and lay upon us as a nation and on every Briton as an individual an indelible mark of dishonour."

Similar indignation was felt and expressed in Germany. From "An Appeal to British Fair Play," signed by 120 leading Germans of all parties, classes and professions, I quote the following:

"At Versailles, Germany has been branded and condemned as solely responsible for the greatest crime against humanity." She was given no opportunity to defend herself. Since then Germany has been treated as a nation of criminals. This has carried a mass of poison into the stream of international life which must tend to destroy generations yet unborn unless it can be quickly and thoroughly eradicated. It is a question of the greatest moral and ethical importance. No people marked as a nation of criminals can live at peace with its neighbours when it knows that the accusation is false."

It would seem that the Allied nations are as culpable as Germany for the present world-disaster, that all are being punished by the war and that none have cause for indulging in national self-righteousness. If we are to have lasting peace is not the repentance of both Germany and Britain the first essential, to be followed by mutual forgiveness, reconciliation and then co-operation for the building of a war-free world?

GEORGE E. HARTLEY.

Shirley, Smith Ave., Old Colwyn, Wales.

Currency and trade

It is very desirable in these days to have a clear idea of the fundamentals of sane foreign trade.

Foreign trade should consist of an exchange of goods or services surplus to the requirements of the citizens of the importing countries but desired by those of the importing ones. If one country, during a certain period, exports a greater value of goods than it imports, it should simply run up an unused credit on the other country's goods. If, after the lapse of a certain number of years, it has not chosen to import the goods to wipe out the debt, the debt should be cancelled. No private individual or organization should be allowed to buy or sell foreign currency.

Two countries trading with one another should fix their currency rates of exchange by considering the relative value, in terms of their respective currencies, of a certain article (or several articles) in common use in both countries. Alternatively, the relative value of the currencies might be arrived at by taking into consideration the amount of money needed in the two countries to give a citizen about the same standard of living in each. Gold, i.e., a lump of gold considered purely as a precious metal, could be selected as the article whereby the relative value of two currencies was assessed, but it possesses absolutely no special merit for this purpose.

Such a use of gold, however, is not contemplated in any of the mischievous plans of the Allied financial experts. Their idea is to limit the amount of foreign trade a country may engage in, not by its capacity to produce for export goods acceptable to other countries, in return for which they would like to send their exports; but to limit it by the amount of gold allocated to it by a gang of financiers' representatives—I beg pardon, "The Fund." This arrangement would place a most sinister power in the hands of the Fund, for it would bully back into the paths of orthodoxy, by threat of removal of the gold allocation, any country whose political or financial ideas offended it.

BEDFORD.

Cairnmore, Newton Stewart, Wigtownshire.

The trend in U.S.A.

The significance of the Republican trend in America seems not to have been appreciated. The war took on a new turn when the Republicans gained ground at Roosevelt's expense a couple of years ago, and if, as seems likely, Roosevelt goes under in the November elections, his counterpart, Churchill, will be a casualty shortly afterwards, the result being a General Election with the tremendous implications attaching thereto.

Nothing happening now is comparable in expectancy with the approaching American elections.

ALGERNON ATHERTON, Chairman, Hammersmith Trades Council.)

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

NATIONALIZING KNOWLEDGE

IN the next month or two PPU groups and solitary burners of the midnight oil would do well to give some thought to the study and discussion work they hope to undertake in 1945.

Semi-official exhortations in this matter are few; plan a programme; keep the study and discussion closely related to the work of the PPU; and don't expect to survive if you "go through" a book chapter by chapter and week by week. Some sort of planning, purpose and predigestion we think essential. We have said all this before in the three Study pamphlets. We fear that these maxims now have the familiar aspect of "good advice." We can't help it; we think the advice is sound. What reports we have of group experience (and we would like more) support these recommendations.

We think choice of subject-matter is best left to the groups. We have one or two suggestions to make, but on the whole our main effort to "stimulate" study (a task at which, Atlas might have bleached) is to point out the facilities that lie to hand, and to supplement them.

There is a series of Talks to Discuss announced by the BBC that may turn out to be worth your attention. On Monday nights (7.30-8) from Oct. 2 to Dec. 18 there will be broadcasts on "Getting Things Done"—the possibilities of direct and indirect action in a democracy. A useful leaflet and book-list about this series is obtainable from the BBC, 55 Portland Place, London, W.1. Also worth noticing is a talk on Oct. 12 in the series of "Broadcasts for Youth" (8.10-8.30). The series is addressed to "young people between fifteen and eighteen," and this one is called "Should some form of National Service be compulsory for all young people after the war?"

LIBRARY SCHEME

I spent an interesting half-hour recently discussing with a library expert the Regional and County Library Schemes. All too few people realize that they can ask at any public library for any book to be obtained through these schemes. Sometimes you have to pay postage; often there is no charge at all. If a search in the Region does not produce a copy of the book, the search is extended to the County areas. Before the war the scheme was actually international. If a book required was not to be found in Britain the enquiry was forwarded for international investigation and the volume might turn up from a provincial public library in France, Switzerland, or Germany. It seemed to me, as I heard about it, as though an important social revolution, the nationalization of knowledge, had taken place—and that almost no-one had noticed it.

In our own modest way we want to nationalize the knowledge which is to be found at Dick Sheppard House, the six hundred volumes of our own library. Dr. A. K. Jameson has produced for us a splendid annotated catalogue, which we hope will be printed soon. Borrowers will be charged postage and a very small borrowing fee—which will be used to make new purchases for the library. I hope you will make a point of getting a copy of the catalogue for reference (a library is not much use if you don't know what is in it) but if you want to consult a typescript copy of it here, or would like us to tell you by post what books are available on a particular subject, don't wait for the printed catalogue—drop me a line tonight.

ROY WALKER.

BRITISH BID TO STOP U.S. ACTION ON FOOD RELIEF?

WE learn from a reliable source that there is a strong rumour in Washington that the visit of Mr. Dingle Foot, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Economic Warfare, to America in June was made with the object of preventing the USA from taking action in connexion with European food-relief.

Earlier this year, both the Senate and House of Representatives unanimously passed resolutions in favour of food-relief. The belief—shared by many members of Congress—that a representative of the British Government subsequently tried to prevent the Administration from taking any action to implement the resolutions has naturally created much ill feeling in some circles.

However much one may hope that the rumour is not well founded, the failure of Britain to fall in with the initiative from America makes it all too probable that it is true. It would be quite in line with the reputed opposition of Mr. Churchill himself to a general policy of food relief, and with earlier reports that the US Administration is much more favourably inclined.

U.N.R.R.A. LEAVES IT TO OTHERS

A CONFERENCE at the UNRRA offices in London on Aug. 24 has served only to underline the delay in bringing full relief services to the needy people in "liberated" territories. Sir John Russell pointed out that in "the first period" when "the military were in charge,"

"farmers had to be encouraged to produce as much food as possible. The organization of such operations was subject to the over-riding military necessity and, therefore, was closely linked with the military authority. It could not be assumed that the first period would do a great deal towards rehabilitation; it was an emergency period. The real business of the UNRRA started when the military stage was over. They would help the national authorities to carry out a programme of food production."

"It was largely an advisory and supply organization. The civil authorities themselves would be left to do the actual work as far as practicable. The job of UNRRA was to get the agricultural machine started and get production going in the different countries. The third stage would be when UNRRA handed over to the military authorities."

This sounds really alarming. If UNRRA is going to concentrate on rehabilitation what becomes of the absolutely vital measures of immediate relief which necessitate considerable imports from overseas? It should be intolerable that military demands on shipping should continue to impose fresh hardships on "liberated" peoples—as has happened and

AUGUST P.N. PAMPHLET

It was not possible to dispatch supplies of the August Peace News pamphlet to distributors with last week's issue, as we had announced our intention of doing. Instead, supplies are being sent with this issue. We much regret any inconvenience this change in publication arrangements may have caused. Unfortunately it was impossible to give notice.

is still happening in Italy, where it is interesting to learn that Mr. Churchill has, against his original intentions, had to take a hand.

F.A.O., the new Food and Agricultural Organization, a practical outcome of the Hot Springs conference of May, 1943, should not be confused with UNRRA—or with immediate relief organization of any kind. Its main job will be "to collect, analyse, and disseminate information about nutrition, food and agriculture."

MANCHESTER CAMPAIGN FOR NEGOTIATED PEACE

Manchester's Negotiated Peace Campaign meetings at Platt Fields Park have continued during August with an evident growing interest amongst the public. On Aug. 13 the largest crowd yet (estimated at over 500) gathered to hear Donald Port, PPU Development Secretary.

To mark "Negotiated Peace Day," the fifth anniversary of the outbreak of war on Sept. 3, Mr. Rhys J. Davies, MP, and the Rev. Stanley Mossop will speak from the platform, and it is hoped to make this the most impressive demonstration so far. The meeting will commence at 7.30 p.m. and will be the last of the present series.

FAITH AND INVESTMENT

"Let us pray for victory."
"Let us pray for God's protection of our fighting men and women."
"Let us manifest our faith by investing in war bonds more than ever before."

—Text of an advertisement in the US Press issued by the International Latex Corporation.

THE OBSTINATE SWINE

WHEN the Gadarene Swine began to rush to the cliff's edge to plunge into the water, one of them was seen to hang back, remonstrating with the others, and finally refused to go with them. This caused the others considerable annoyance.

"The Herd has decided," they said, "that this has got to be done, and you, as a member of the Herd, should be prepared to abide by the decision of the majority. You have been willing enough to enjoy the benefits of Herd-manship up till now, by going grazing with us, and so on; but now, when the Herd has to do something painful and unpleasant, you try to back out to save your own skin, and repudiate your obligations as a member of the Herd. After all, we are taking the plunge for your sake as well as for our own. You will share in the benefits of the plunge, while leaving the others to do the plunging. Is that nice?"

To this the Obstinate Swine would only answer: "What you are doing seems to me to be both foolish and wrong. It is all very well to say, 'The Herd has decided,' but I believe

that you are only doing this because devils have been put into you and warped your judgment, and that if you looked at the thing in the proper light you would see that it was inexcusably wrong. To me, plunging over the edge seems an act of folly, of which no good can come. I have done my best to dissuade you. If you will not listen to me and carry on with the enterprise, I cannot stop you; but at least I will not have anything to do with it myself."

"It is true"—continued the swine—"that I was born a member of the Herd, and have enjoyed the benefits of Herd-manship, by going grazing with you, etc., and I am still very ready to join you in any reasonable enterprise, and to put up with my share of personal inconvenience for the common good. But this plunging into the water appears to me neither reasonable nor right, and I refuse to admit that the obligations of Herd-manship extend so far."

"You say you are taking the plunge for my sake as well as your own. Personally I do not believe that it will be either for your good or for mine, and that is why I have been doing my best to dissuade you from it. But in any case, even if you really think that what you are doing is for my benefit as well as your own, please, please don't do it on my account."

But they would not listen, and with a few bitter remarks at the expense of the non-plunger, continued their rush towards the edge; while the Obstinate Swine stayed behind, and was later put in prison for refusing to go with the rest.

MAX THOMAS

CANADA'S NEW PACIFIST BODY

From Grace M. BEATON

The War Resisters' International is happy to report that the newly-formed pacifist movement in Canada, the Canadian Fellowship of Reconciliation, has applied for affiliation to the War Resisters' International, as its Canadian Section.

The movement held its first national conference in Toronto July 7 to 9, and over 100 delegates from as far East as Montreal, Quebec, and as far West as Vancouver, British Columbia, were in attendance.

Important world problems considered by the conference included: 1. Economic problems (post-war reconstruction, labour, co-operatives); 2. Race relations; 3. Rehabilitation.

The Canadian Movement publishes a monthly paper, entitled Reconciliation. Its chairman, the Rev. J. Lavell Smith, acts as WRI representative in Canada for financial affairs, this arrangement having the approval of the Canadian and British Governments.

SIX PAGES NEXT WEEK

Next week's issue of Peace News will contain six pages. Among the contents will be a reproduction of a new poster drawn for the Food Relief Campaign by Arthur Wragg, a review of the late Eric Gill's "In a Strange Land," and a report of the PPU Summer School which ended last Saturday.

TROTSKYISTS WIN APPEAL

The sentences of the Trotskyists, Tarsse, Lee, and Haston, on charges of furthering the Tyneside apprentices' strike against the pit ballot scheme were quashed by the Court of Criminal Appeal on Aug. 24. Reasons for the decision were to be given later.

The name of Mrs. Keen had been inadvertently omitted from the appeal, and Mr. Justice Humphreys said she would have to take whatever course she was advised.

The prosecutions were under the Trade Disputes Act.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

TERMS: Cash with order, except for series bookings. Copy by Monday, 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Maximum length: 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4. We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements. When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

ACCOMMODATION

FOR ALL PROPERTIES to be let or sold in N.W. London and districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11 (Speedwell 9888, 5 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

HOUSE WANTED, 4/5 bedrooms; main services. S. or S.W. preferred; country or sea; 2 acres. Box 596.

WRITER AND artist seek furnished cottage, bungalow or rooms in congenial village for winter, Midland or West preferred. Box 583.

URGENT—YOUNG couple wish to rent small house, bungalow, or flat. Furnished or unfurnished. Sheffield. Box 592.

C.O. COUPLE, baby, require accommodation furnished, unfurnished, most urgently, near employment, land, hospital. Anything considered. Box 588.

DESPERATELY NEEDED by Officer's wife with girl of two, small flat or two rooms, use of bath, kitchen, preferably unfurnished. Somerset or Devon. Box 589.

PACIFIST URGENTLY requires house in Farnborough, Shortlands, Bromley, or surrounding districts. Maximum 50s. week rent inclusive. Franke Berge, 42 St. Leonards Rise, Orpington, Kent.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44.)

EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. (PRI. 5686.)

FOR SALE AND WANTED

ALLYSOL.—After 5,000 years a way has been found to remove from garlic its intolerable smell. Get to know Allysol healing liquid, tablets, and sweet-smelling garlic ointment. Send for booklets about garlic. Please refer to advert: in this issue.

WAR RESISTERS' International would welcome gifts of foreign stamps, for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbeville Rd., Enfield.

URGENTLY WANTED, pre-utility high pram. Marmet or similar make preferred. Send details to Downer, 4 King St., High Ongar, Essex.

PORTABLE TYPEWRITERS urgently wanted for relief units going abroad. Offers, please, to I.V.S.P., 19 Deans Yard, S.W.

MUSICIAN, EX-GAOL, C.O., wishes to obtain string bass, financial position being impaired through principles. Would appreciate reasonable offer or weekly payment arrangement. Box 587.

WANTED—MECCANO or constructional toy for little pacifist evacuee. Will Richards, 63 East Walk, East Barnet, Herts.

LAND AND COMMUNITY

PACIFIST COMMUNITY in Lakes has vacancies for two members. Forestry work available. Also accommodation for guests during autumn and winter at moderate terms. Box 590.

FRANCISCAN COMMUNITY seeks prospective members for land-work or for book and church vestment business near Essex coast. Kingdom Books, 51 West Cromwell Rd., London, S.W.5.

LITERATURE

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

40,000 SECOND-HAND books on theology, Bible study, liturgy, mysticism, pacifism, psychology, sociology, politics, gardening etc. Monthly list 2d., allowed for on return. Profits help Franciscan community. Kingdom Books, 51 West Cromwell Rd., London, S.W.5.

TOLSTOY ESSAYS and Stories: Divine and Human, King Assarhadon 6d.; "One thing needful" 4d.; "Work while ye have the light"; "Patriotism"; "How I came to believe"; 3d.; "The Godson"; "The Only Means"; "Reason, Faith, Prayer," 1d.; Tolstoy preface, "Life of Lloyd Garrison," 1s. L. Perno, 16 Heatherlea Rd., Bournemouth South.

MEETINGS

MIDLAND PACIFIST Fellowship, Sept. 3, 3 p.m., at Selly Oak F.M.H., "Can a pacifist support Federal Union?" Mr. B. Borken.

SOUTHERN P.P.U. are meeting at 77 London Rd., Southend-on-Sea, Sept. 9 and 23, at 6 p.m. Cordial invitation to all P.N. readers.

PERSONAL

CARAVAN OWNER wants to meet chum (cyclist) to share. Codicote district. Box 582.

DIVIDEND FROM Will Coppin's share number 361536, London Co-operative Society, will be used for funds of Co-operative Armistice Council. Minimum sub. 2s. 6d. per annum. Communications to C.A.C., 130 Balfour Rd., Ilford, Essex.

SITUATIONS VACANT

It is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants who are in any doubt are recommended to consult the Pacifist Service Bureau, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

50% OF PROFITS plus agricultural wage offered married man to run established market garden. Experience essential. Accommodation. Work for wife available. Write: "Claremont," Hatfield Heath, Bishops, Stortford.

WEST OF England: full-time person (either sex) required for strenuous P.P.U. organizing work. Full particulars from Development Secretary, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

ACCOUNTANT, EX-SCRUBS C.O., prepares all forms of accounts, Income Tax returns, audits etc. Box 589.

MAN, 34, EXPERT intensive market-growing; experienced relief work; wife housekeeping, administrative experience. Both widely interested social issues, offer services to any dynamic group, unit or organization where clear thinking and desire to get things done appreciated. Stanley and Rose du Feu. Box 585.

C.O., QUALIFIED Bank Clerk, wants spare time work, book-keeping, preparation of accounts, Income-Tax returns, or secretarial work. Box 586.

C.O. (25) B.Sc., first-class Honours maths., requires non-manual work, unobstructed area. Salary according to usefulness. Box 591.

YOUNG MAN desires market-gardening work or similar. Sheffield and district. Farming experience; adaptable. Box 593.

C.O. HONS. Cantab, land exemption, over year's horticultural experience, seeks responsible post. Sound theoretical knowledge. Box 595.

WORKING-MANAGER, fruit farm (with poultry), four years' experience, unconditional C.O., single, 29, Methodist L.P., seeks change of employer, and part of country, or would welcome opportunity to rent small fruit poultry farm. Box 594.

MISCELLANEOUS

EVERYTHING PERTAINING to health and happiness. Classes: elocution; public-speaking; psychology; dancing. Correspondence: specializing nerves; rheumatism; catarrh; head noises; sleeplessness. Contacts: Individualists; Pioneers; Literary writers, etc. Winter hostels: Largs; Prestwick, S.A.E. Katharine MacDonald, F.U.B.A., F.U.F.L., Naturopathic Psychologist (Certified Honours, Elocution, Edinburgh and Glasgow Festivals). 6 Lansdowne Crescent, Glasgow.

A future clash with Russia?

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

of them that they will remain united simply in order to uphold it.

But Stalin's philosophy (which is also a religion) denies the very possibility of this. The inherent competitiveness of capitalism, the necessity which drives on the capitalist nations to fight for markets to dispose of the goods which they cannot distribute within their own society, save at the cost of an economic and political revolution, will split any alliance of great Powers into fragments.

All this is elementary to the Marxist. The Russian government is a Marxist government. It may suit our propaganda to forget it. But it is by far the most important fact in world-politics today. Russia is a great Power; a victorious great Power; and a Marxist great Power.

U.S.S.R and Poland

RUSSIA must prepare for the day, which her religion tells her is inevitable, when by virtue of her expansionist economy the other great Powers will see in her the enemy. That is the real reason for what The Economist rather naively describes as Russia's "clumsy mismanagement of the Polish issue," introducing "the fatal principle of territorial compensation."

There is nothing clumsy in Russia's management of the Polish issue. Ruthless (from the liberal point of view) but not clumsy. In Stalin's eyes Polish nationalism is romantic, reactionary and obsolete. He seriously believes that the real future of Poland lies in its becoming a member-state of the Union of Soviet Republics. And the world being what it is, who shall say that he is wrong?

For it is to imagine a vain thing to suppose that the sovereign independence of small nations can possibly endure except in an international society in which they have surrendered the chief prerogative of sovereign independence—the right to make war.

Aid for Warsaw

I CAN understand why Stalin has no use for an independent Poland: but he carries his determination to prevent its resurrection to an extreme of cynicism.

"The British and Americans have recently made urgent requests that the air-shuttle service between Italy and Russia, which has enabled them to give such valuable and timely aid to the Soviet armies, should be developed so that they could send supplies to Warsaw. Their requests have been refused in Moscow." (Vernon Bartlett, News Chronicle, Aug. 29.)

That is really staggering. If Britain and America condone so monstrous a cruelty to their ally, it will be a historical infamy. Elementary decency demands that they should insist, even at the cost of a complete breach of the alliance, on sending help to Warsaw by the air-shuttle service which is entirely of their own providing. British good faith will never recover from the ignominy if they acquiesce in the Russian barbarity.

Rivalry in Far East

THE main question of the future is whether the people of the capitalist countries will be persuaded to march against Russia. Propaganda can do much. And it is a certain fact of history that in 1941 the people of Germany could be persuaded to march against Russia as in a crusade.

Stalin can take no risks. By his calculus a war of USA and Britain against Russia is, if not absolutely certain, so probable that he must do everything to prepare for it.

My own opinion is that Central and Eastern Europe itself will have become far too communistic to make possible any European war against Russia. The Far East is a different matter. The great markets for Anglo-Saxon capitalism are there.

PRISONERS' GIFT TO RED CROSS

A gift of £1,500 has been made by 255 British, Dominion and American war prisoners at Stalag 344, to the educational books section of the Red Cross.

TRIBUTES TO A PEACE-MAKER

MAURICE L. ROWNTREE

— by a few of his many friends in the P.P.U.

filling the post until we found someone better. "My real interest," he would say, "is in persons, not things." Yet he schooled himself diligently to master the numerous statements of accounts that it was his job to report to the various committees.

He gave unstintingly of his time to his job as Treasurer, and indeed many and frequent were the calls made upon him. He would often refer to the great advantage to the PPU owing to his living a few doors from Dick Sheppard House—but never to the inconvenience to himself this must often have caused him.

That Maurice was interested in persons could be seen by the real interest he took in matters relating to the staff. Always a smile and a friendly word for each one of us separately. Many of us have benefited from his friendly advice and counsel when we have gone to him with our private difficulties.

Maurice had a habit of leaving things behind—his scarf, his pen, or his spectacle case; and we used to organize a hunt to find them for him. He has "left behind" with us memories of his gentleness and his gentlemanliness; his faithfulness; his work well done; his courage and determination; his broad-mindedness and tolerance; his love—real love of his fellow-humans. But perhaps most of all, his sincerity and honesty of purpose, his truthfulness.

Loving you as he did, he would hurt you by telling you the truth rather than not tell it; and somehow it didn't seem to hurt so much the way he told it.

Maurice used to face up to things. I can imagine him saying "Well!—this is all very terrible. But we must look ahead and all work the harder so as to fill the gap."

Frank B. Middleton

IN an old 17th-century rose-covered Quaker Meeting House, with the late sunshine streaming in through the wide open round-topped windows, we met—members and leaders of the Spicelands Conference, Friends from the local Quaker Meetings at Taunton, Wellington and Exeter, and a few from farther distances—to spend together a time of worship in thankfulness for the life lived amongst us and the service rendered to the cause to which we too are pledged, by our beloved comrade Maurice Rowntree. Then, out through the garden with its noble fir and blaze of red peony, to the Devonshire hillside where we laid the body of our friend.

Now his spirit was free. In our worship we had been reminded that in this new-found freedom he was with us still and would be united with us always. The thought of this deeper level of consciousness where soul meets soul, unseparated any more by outward material things, had of late so filled Maurice Rowntree's thought as to become for him a vivid spiritual experience, which, all the more now, he will long for us all to share.

For me the keynote of his life is dedication. At the Bow St. trial, Maurice said he was almost born a pacifist. I think he was quite born one. Wholehearted devotion, the whole of life wholly given to the Truth he saw, that was the special witness that Maurice Rowntree made amongst us.

Urged by this sense of calling, he took an honours degree in Theology at Balliol, that he might better serve the Society of Friends, where there is no professionally trained ministry. He sacrificed social ease and position that there might be no barrier between him and anyone.

He gave to strenuous physical exercise, even at 62, an important place in his full, daily planned timetable, because he believed that only in *corpore sano* could *mens sana* give its utmost contribution. He gave his home, his wife Maude Rowntree sharing this concern, for the Quaker work and the cause of peace to which their united life was pledged. His artistic and literary gifts were dedicated.

The first time I met Maurice he was lecturing at an Adult School guest house on "The Land of the Book," illustrated by his own water-colour paintings of Palestine. In the Central Library at Friends House a whole sheaf of cards in the index bears witness to his numerous books and pamphlets on social and religious subjects, the fruit of a life's thought and experience.

Just before the war his "Mankind Set Free" was published, and in a note added to the preface after war broke out, he tells us he believes that the principles set forth are not only still valid, but form the basis of the new world that must be created after the war. He had another book in preparation, but if

now it should never be published, our friend has already left us a noble Testament of Faith.

Only a few days before his death Maurice, who had with Maud stayed in London throughout the blitz, showed me where he slept. I had asked whether he was protecting himself from flying glass. Half a folding wooden window shutter served as a makeshift screen, his bed immediately behind it. This device, he said naively, is not intended to stop the bast, but to deflect it. That dear head for which I was anxious, has been struck by another blow from that which I feared.

He has been taken from us in the midst of a war becoming fiercer and more brutal every day. Even as we laid his body, with a wreath of lovely fresh young moorland heather, in that quiet Devonshire hillside, war roared overhead. But his spirit, utterly devoted to our Cause, is with us still, with us always, and stronger than all the mightiest engines of war.

C. C.

MAURICE was one of the founders of the Central London Group and, in spite of his many other responsibilities within the PPU, he attended its meetings every week without fail, except for rare occasions when he was away from London. The fact that he was considerably older than the majority of members was never apparent except when his experience and great spiritual and human qualities brought wisdom to our discussions, and his concern to find ways of reconciling opposing points of view would create unity amidst apparent dissension.

His enthusiasm and readiness to take part in all our group activities, in meetings, leaflet distribution, signatory checking, rambles or socials, will always tend to make us remember Maurice rather as a group member and a friend than as a "national" figure. It was our good fortune that it should be so, though our sense of personal loss is all the greater.

BERNADINE CROFT, Chairman,
Central London Group

ARMISTICE RESOLUTION AT L.C.S. MEETINGS

The "Armistice now" resolution submitted to the July quarterly meetings of the London Co-operative Society will be put forward again at the January quarterly meetings, provided 500 signatures are obtained and the necessary 60 speakers can be secured to move it at the meetings.

Those who would be prepared to speak at their local meetings are asked to inform Will Coppin, 130 Balfour Rd., Ilford, Essex. The aggregate vote at all the July meetings was 38 for the resolution and 407 against. At the final meeting the figures were 12 for and 16 against.

One result of the campaign was a leading article of one column in The Express, Stratford, attacking the resolution and Will Coppin. A reply from the latter was published the following week.

YOUTH CONFERENCE CANCELLED

Owing to lack of support the PPU youth conference which was to have been held at Friends House, London, N.W.1, on Sept. 9, has been cancelled.

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Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by "Peace News" Ltd. Printed by Clifford Printing Co. (T.U.), London, N.16.